Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 302978 TOSEC 250012

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FOLLOWING REPEAT SENT ACTION TO TEHRAN INFO TEL AVIV DAMASCUS FROM SECSTATE

QUOTE SECRETSTATE 302978

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XF, IS, IR, US

SUBJECT: JANUARY SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON MIDDLE EAST

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM SISCO

1. WE NOTE THAT SYRIAN PRESIDENT ASAD IS SCHEDULED TO VISIT TEHRAN DECEMBER 28. WE ASSUME THAT IN HIS TALKS WITH THE SHAH THE FORTHCOMING JANUARY 12 SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON THE MIDDLE EAST WILL COME UP, SINCE IT FIGURES IMPORTANTLY IN THE CURRENT SYRIAN MIDDLE EAST STRATEGY. WE WOULD LIKE FOR THE SHAH TO BE FAMILIAR WITH OUR VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT PRIOR TO HIS TALKS WITH ASAD, AND YOU SHOULD BRIEF HIM ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES SECRET

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PRIOR TO THAT TIME.

2. TELL THE SHAH THAT, AS HE KNOWS, WE WANT TO KEEP HIM INFORMED ON OUR THINKING ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM IN WHICH WE SHARE A STRONG MUTUAL INTEREST. THE JANUARY SECURITY COUNCIL SESSION RAISES A NUMBER OF BASIC ISSUES AND WE WOULD LIKE HIM TO BE AWARE OF OUR VIEWS ABOUT THEM. WE THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE OF INTEREST TO HIM TO HAVE OUR VIEWS BEFORE THE VISIT OF PRESIDENT ASAD TO TEHRAN SINCE SYRIA WAS A PRIME MOVER IN ARRANGING FOR

THE COUNCIL MEETING.

- 3. WE ARE IN CONTINUING TOUCH WITH THE SYRIAN GOVERNMENT ON THIS AND OTHER ASPECTS OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM, MOST RECENTLY DURING ASSISTANT SECRETARY ATHERTON'S VISIT TO DAMASCUS DECEMBER 17. WE INTEND TO STAY IN COMMUNICATION WITH THE SYRIANS AS WE APPROACH THE COUNCIL MEETING AND WE HOPE TO BE ABLE TO WORK WITH THEM TOWARD A CONSTRUCTIVE OUTCOME. AS THE SYRIANS ARE AWARE, HOWEVER, THERE ARE DEFINITE LIMITS TO WHAT WE CAN AGREE TO, AND WE THINK IT IMPORTANT THAT THE GOVERNMENTS DIRECTLY INVOLVED FULLY UNDERSTAND THEM.
- 4. WE FEEL VERY STRONGLY THAT THE NEGOTIATING FRAMEWORK THAT CONSISTS OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338, AS WELL AS THE GENEVA CONFERENCE FORMULA, IS AN ESSENTIAL BASIS FOR FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE. WE WOULD OPPOSE EFFORTS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL THAT WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF UNDERMINING THIS FRAMEWORK.
- 5. WE STRONGLY OPPOSE ANY EFFORT TO MAKE THE SC THE MAIN INSTRUMENT OF MIDDLE EAST DIPLOMACY. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THIS WOULD SERIOUSLY UNDERMINE ANY CHANCES FOR FURTHER PROGRESS. WITH ITS WIDE VARIETY OF PARTICIPANTS AND OF POLITICAL PRESSURES, THE COUNCIL COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO PROVIDE A FORUM FOR THE CAREFUL AND DISPASSIONATE NEGOTIATION OF SENSITIVE ISSUES THAT ARE, MOREOVER, CONVINCED THAT THERE CAN BE NO IMPOSED SETTLEMENT, EITHER BY THE COUNCIL OR ANY OTHER SOURCE. ANY EFFORT TO REVERT TO THE CONCEPT OF A SETTLEMENT DECIDED SECRET

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UPON AND IMPOSED BY THE COUNCIL -- A THEME THAT HAD SOME SUPPORT AMONG THE ARABS IN THE POST-1967 PERIOD, WOULD SERIOUSLY RISK CARRYING US BACK TO THE STALEMATE OF THAT PERIOD.

6. WE ARE CONVINCED THE NEGOTIATING FRAMEWORK IN WHICH SO MUCH HAS BEEN ACHIEVED SINCE 1973 IS FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR FURTHER PROGRESS LEADING ULTIMATELY TO SETTLEMENT. WE UNDERSTAND THE ARAB DESIRE TO SEE THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM BROUGHT INTO THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. WE HAVE SAID MANY TIMES THAT NO SETTLEMENT WILL BE POSSIBLE WITHOUT A SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THE FRAMEWORK WE NOW HAVE CAN ACCOMMODATE THIS, AND OUR AIM IS TO MOVE FORWARD IN THIS FRAMEWORK. IT WOULD BE IN NO ONE'S INTEREST, EXCEPT ANY WHO MIGHT NOT WANT A SETTLEMENT, IF THE COUNCIL DEBATE SHOULD RESULT IN LIMITING THE PROSPECTS FOR PROGRESS OF THIS KIND. KISSINGER UNQUOTE SISCO

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